

Message Text

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SUBJ: AMBASSADOR JOHNS'S STATEMENT OF NOVEMBER 19, 1975

(SALT TWO-855)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF NOVEMBER 19, 1975, INCLUDING PROPOSED
LANGUAGE FOR ARTICLE IV.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

NOVEMBER 19, 1975

MR. MINISTER:

I

TODAY I WILL ADDRESS ARTICLE IV OF THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT.
THIS ARTICLE CONTAINS PROVISIONS THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE
VIABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

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THE U.S. DELEGATION HAS STUDIED THE SOVIET STATEMENT OF

NOVEMBER 12 AND IS PLEASED TO NOTE THE PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED TOWARD DEVELOPING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULATIONS OF SOME OF THE PROVISIONS OF THIS ARTICLE.

PARAGRAPHS 1 AND 2 ARE NOW SUBSTANTIALLY AGREED. THE U.S. SIDE IS PLEASED TO NOTE THAT THE SOVIET UNION AGREES THAT THE DISMANTLING AND DESTRUCTION OF A FIXED ICBM LAUNCHER IN ONE LOCATION AND THE "RELOCATION" OF THAT LAUNCHER TO ANOTHER PLACE WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE INTENT OF PARAGRAPH 1. IN THIS CONNECTION, THE FORMULATION OF PARAGRAPH 2, AS PROPOSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE IN ITS NOVEMBER 12 STATEMENT, IS ACCEPTABLE TO THE U.S. DELEGATION.

PARAGRAPH 3 CONTAINS THE OBLIGATION NOT TO CONVERT LAUNCHERS FOR NON-HEAVY ICBMS OR FOR ICBMS OF OLDER TYPES DEPLOYED PRIOR TO 1964 INTO LAUNCHERS FOR HEAVY ICBMS OF TYPES DEPLOYED AFTER THAT TIME. THE UNITED STATES REAFFIRMS ITS BELIEF THAT THE PHRASE "NON-HEAVY" BEST DESCRIBES THE LAUNCHERS FOR MISSILES DEPLOYED AFTER 1964 TO WHICH THE PROHIBITION APPLIES.

THE POSITION OF THE U.S. WITH RESPECT TO PARAGRAPHS 4 AND 5 OF THIS ARTICLE ARE WELL KNOWN TO THE SOVIET SIDE AND I WILL NOT ADDRESS THEM TODAY.

THE AGREED PORTION OF PARAGRAPH 6 EFFECTIVELY DEALS WITH THE PROBLEM OF EXCESS NUMBERS OF SLBM LAUNCHERS OR HEAVY BOMBERS UNDER CONSTRUCTION. THE U.S. DELEGATION IS PREPARED TO CONFIRM ITS COMMON UNDERSTANDING WITH THE SOVIET DELEGATION THAT, WITH RESPECT TO THIS PARAGRAPH, A NORMAL CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE IS A SCHEDULE CONSISTENT WITH THE PAST OR PRESENT CONSTRUCTION PRACTICES OF EACH SIDE. THE REMAINING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE SIDES ON THIS PARAGRAPH CONCERN SYSTEMS OTHER THAN THESE, WHICH CAN BE DISCUSSED FURTHER BY OUR DELEGATIONS WHEN THE QUESTIONS CONCERNING THEM ARE RESOLVED.

THERE IS AGREEMENT IN SUBSTANCE BETWEEN THE U.S. AND SOVIET DELEGATIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF PARAGRAPH 7 THAT DEAL WITH SYSTEMS WHICH WE ARE NOW ADDRESSING. THE FINAL LANGUAGE OF THIS PARAGRAPH WILL BE DEPENDENT UPON THE DECISION TAKEN ON THE QUESTION OF MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS. THE SIDES AGREE THAT THE CLARIFICATION AS TO WHAT CONSTITUTES "NORMAL
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DEPLOYMENT REQUIREMENTS" IN CONNECTION WITH THIS PARAGRAPH MUST BE RECORDED. THE CONTENT OF THIS CLARIFICATION PARALLELS THAT OF THE AGREED STATEMENT FOR ARTICLE VII IN THAT IT SPECIFIES A NUMERICAL DEFINITION OF A TERM IN THE ARTICLE. THEREFORE, IT IS THE U.S. VIEW THAT THIS CLARIFICATION SHOULD BE INCORPORATED IN AN AGREED STATEMENT RATHER THAN A COMMON UNDERSTANDING.

MR. MINISTER, I WILL NOW TABLE THE U.S. PROPOSAL FOR ARTICLE IV OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, INCLUDING THE AGREED STATEMENT MENTIONED ABOVE:

ARTICLE IV

1. THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO START CONSTRUCTION OF ADDITIONAL FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS.

2. THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO RELOCATE FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS.

3. THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO CONVERT LAUNCHERS FOR NON-HEAVY ICBMS OR FOR ICBMS OF OLDER TYPES DEPLOYED PRIOR TO 1964, INTO LAUNCHERS FOR HEAVY ICBMS OF TYPES DEPLOYED AFTER THAT TIME.

4. THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE IN THE PROCESS OF MODERNIZATION AND REPLACEMENT NOT TO INCREASE THE ORIGINAL & INTERNAL LENGTH OR THE ORIGINAL & INTERNAL DIAMETER OF ICBM SILO LAUNCHERS BY MORE THAN 15 PERCENT. IN THE EVENT THESE DIMENSIONS ARE INCREASED, THE SUM OF SUCH INCREASES, EACH EXPRESSED AS A PERCENTAGE OF THE ORIGINAL & DIMENSION, SHALL NOT EXCEED 15 PERCENT.

5. THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO DEVELOP, TEST, OR DEPLOY AN ICBM HAVING A VOLUME OR THROW-WEIGHT GREATER THAN THAT OF THE LARGEST HEAVY ICBM DEPLOYED BY EITHER PARTY ON THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THIS AGREEMENT.

6. THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE NOT TO HAVE UNDER CONSTRUCTION AT ANY TIME SLBM LAUNCHERS, MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS, BOMBERS EQUIPPED FOR ASBMS OR HEAVY BOMBERS IN EXCESS OF NUMBERS CONSISTENT WITH A NORMAL CONSTRUCTION SCHEDULE.

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7. THE PARTIES UNDERTAKE:

(A) NOT TO SUPPLY ICBM LAUNCHER DEPLOYMENT FIELDS, UNITS OR BASES WITH ICBMS IN EXCESS OF A NUMBER CONSISTENT WITH NORMAL DEPLOYMENT, MAINTENANCE, TRAINING AND REPLACEMENT REQUIREMENTS;

(B) NOT TO PROVIDE STORAGE FACILITIES FOR OR TO STORE ICBMS IN EXCESS OF NORMAL DEPLOYMENT REQUIREMENTS AT LAUNCH SITES OF ICBM LAUNCHERS;

(C) NOT TO DEVELOP, TEST OR DEPLOY SYSTEMS FOR RAPID RELOAD OF ICBM LAUNCHERS.

AGREED STATEMENT

THE PARTIES AGREE THAT NORMAL DEPLOYMENT REQUIREMENTS AS PROVIDED FOR IN ARTICLE IV, PARAGRAPH 7, MEANS THE DEPLOYMENT OF ONLY ONE MISSILE FOR EACH ICBM LAUNCHER.

III

MR. MINISTER, I RECOMMEND THAT THE DRAFTING WORKING GROUP BE CHARGED WITH PREPARING A NEW BRACKETED VERSION OF ARTICLE IV FOR INCORPORATION INTO THE JOINT DRAFT TEXT.

& THE U.S. SIDE HAS INDICATED THAT THE WORD "ORIGINAL" IN THE U.S. DRAFT TEXT REFERS TO THE DIMENSIONS OF AN ICBM SILO LAUNCHER AS OF MAY 26, 1972 OR THE DATE ON WHICH SUCH LAUNCHER BECOMES OPERATIONAL, WHICHEVER IS LATER. JOHNSON

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